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The EXAMINER.

From Friday February 19, to Monday February 22, 1713.

Cæsaris altera vox ad jactationem posita; PARCE CIVIBUS.
Florus.

IT is a Rule in Controversy, that they, who have a bad Cause to Manage, and are resolv'd to turn Advocates for Falshood and Deceit, always employ themselves in some general Topick; and keep close to Universals, the better to carry on the Juggle, when they have bewildred their Readers in an inextricable Maze of loose undefin'd Notions, and a multitude of Words, whose Signification is various and indefinite. Thus, when a *Whig-Writer* hath a mind to amuse the World with any strange Discoveries in *Theology* or *Politicks*, he need only dip into some *Vocabulary*, and transcribe a few pompous and plausible Terms out of it, such as *Liberty*, *Right*, *Nature*, *Constitution*, *Commerce*, and *Publick Credit*: Which, being fairly laid together, and strung in such good Order, that he may ring the Changes upon them, thro' at least a dozen or two of *Pages* and *Paragraphs*, without grating the Ears by any apparent Breaches in the Law of Harmony, will not fail to render the whole Composition agreeable enough to the Taste of those, who are prepar'd for it; and tho' he never Explains or Sorts his Idea's, tho' he never stoops to the Drudgery of Application, or descends to any Facts or Particulars, but what are first falsify'd and model'd to his Purpose; yet he shall not miss of the Applause of his Party, and take his Place among the *Pamphleteers* of the Week, with great Gravity and State, after the solemn Introduction of some publick *Advertisement*. A remarkable Instance of this Sort, might be given in the Business of *Publick Credit*: A Word of singular Use and Importance; and so very much depending upon the Manufacture of *Paper*, that whenever we met with it Inclos'd, or made up in a Conveyance of that kind, we cannot be too careful to avoid Counterfeits; nor too Critical and Inquisitive, for fear of having any Wrong-meaning put upon the Word, or of being mistaken in the true Nature of the Thing.

One would indeed be apt to imagine, that there should be no very great Necessity of proving the Importance of *Publick Credit*, by long Arguments and the Formality of tedious Deductions; or of insisting on the Obligations a Government is under, to see it carefully and religiously observ'd. The Subject seems to speak for it self; and the best Defence that can be made for it, is to set it in a clear Light, and fully to explain it. But whoever will be at the Pains to stage over those immense Piles of *Pamphlets*, with which the *Whig-Authors* have over-loaded us; all written upon this single Theme, as also upon *Trade*, *Manufacture*, *Commerce*, *Navigation*, *Stocks*, *Funds*, and other such like *Terms*, very nearly related to it; would be almost tempted to believe, that certainly the Men, called *Tories*, were a new Sect of Political Hereticks, lately started up, who utterly deny'd the Use and Validity of *Publick Credit*, were resolv'd to cry it down at any Rate, and banish it for ever out of all Civil Societies. On the contrary he would conclude, that the *Whigs* were the only Orthodox Statesmen, who profess'd Trading and Merchandize, and bravely maintain'd the Honour and Dignity of *Commerce*, against those Muckworms, the *Tories*, those Drones of the *Terra Firma*, who were for abolishing *Publick Credit* as a common Nusance, and for disposing of the *Stocks*, *Funds*, and other *Parliamentary Securities*, as so much Lumber and Wast-paper, or in the Words of a late mischievous Writer, —— *As Inky Blots, and rotten Parchment Bonds.* —— Now all this is mere Cant and dry Declamation; a senseless Charm and delusion of Words, contriv'd on purpose to divert us from enquiring into their Practises, whilst we are busy in perusing the Goodness of their Principles, where they stand them in no other Expence, but only *Pen*, *Ink*, and *Paper*. Thus a *Scotch Ecclesiastical Drummer* shall deafen his Audience with rattling Invectives against the Shadow of *Prelatical Tyranny*, whilst the Substance is safely and quietly dispos'd of, between him and his Brethren. And thus all the Arbitrary Machinations of the *Junta* were solemnly usher'd in with a long-winded Preamble in Favour of *Liberty*. Thus *Quacks* hold out Poison, whilst they proclaim the Blessings of Health: And the *Theatrical Itinerant* cries out, *O Rare Show*, with a stale Story in a Budget at his Back, as old as *Adam* and *Eve*, or the Deluge of the World.

If the *Theory* of *Publick Credit*, as it is to be met with in *Whig-Pamphlets*, were worth quoting; and if using and applying it were not really perverting the Design of their Writers, it might readily serve to expose their Practice and Conduct, in all its Parts: For their Words and Actions are, in this Case as in many more, the exact Reverse of each other. No Men more for Trade and Commerce than they: so far as Speculation goes. They will Talk and Write for ever upon this Subject; but the Moment they are brought to a Tryal, in some propitious Juncture; they shrink from all their Pretensions, and sacrifice the real Goddess to some monstrous Idol of their own erecting; or break her Image in Pieces, for the sake of making a Scramble of her Entrails, or of Plundering the Riches of her Shrine. They make their Court to Publick Credit, just as some gay heedless Rake of the Town addresses to a truly Virtuous and Honourable Mistress: Their Vows, Complements, Letters, Protestations, and other fine Things, are deliver'd in the most passionate Style, full of Rapture; and with all the Sincerity, that untry'd Words and Oaths are capable of. But the moment Friends meet, a Lawyer is sent for, a Settlement drawn, and the indissoluble Knot ready to be Ty'd, their Ardor abates, they cool, and grow basely Considerate: A thousand Evasions are started to prevent further Engaging, and so soon as the Business can be broke off, they are perhaps the first to Defame an Innocent Lady, to call in question her Virtues, and undervalue her Fortune.

That this is no unjust Charge brought against them, will perhaps but too plainly appear, if we only wave the many fulsome impertinent Harangues which have serv'd them in the stead of useful and seasonable Amusements, whenever *Publick Credit* came to be talk'd of; and put them to a much stricter Test, by examining their Conduct and Behaviour, abstracted from their Words and Professions, with respect to this Article. Which, upon a full Survey of several notorious Facts and Occurrences, that happen'd during the Run of the Last *Four Years*, will appear to be such, that certainly they will never more have the Assurance to upbraid us with their Zeal for *Publick Credit*; or if they do, we shall never more have any reason to give our selves the Trouble of Answering them.

The Moment *Her Majesty's* Royal Intentions to alter *Her Ministry* began to be made publick, they stak'd the Credit of the Nation against *Her* undoubted Prerogative, and endeavour'd to set the Creditors of the Government at Variance with the Crown; on purpose to distress *Her Majesty*, and subject *Her* known Rights to the Arbitrary Will and Pleasure of a domineering Imperious

perious *Junta*. Had the Love of their Country carry'd any Weight with them, they would have united in their Reſolutions to ſupport *Credit*, in a Juncture, which they thought Dangerous, and againſt any Shocks it might then be liable to: But inſtead of this, they ran violently into the other Extream; ſunk the *Stocks* as low as they could, deſerted the *Exchequer*, which by Agreement with the *Miniſtry* was at that time left Pennyleſs; and had not a better Sett of Men flung in a *Voluntary Subſcription* of near *Half a Million*, *Credit* muſt have dwindled to Nothing, our good *Queen* had been made a Priſoner and a Slave, and the War perpetuated upon us; or at leaſt made Coevous to our Ruin: For without putting an End to that intolerable Burden, it was as impoſſible for us to eſcape Deſtruction, as it is for a Gentleman of Fifteen hundred Pounds a *Year*, who runs One thouſand Pounds in Debt every *Quarter*, to avoid Beggaring Himſelf and his Poſterity, when he has no other Advantage from what he Spends, than only making the Fortunes of his *Steward*, *Bailiff*, *Butler*, and other *Menial Servants*.

So ſoon as the firſt Dawnings of a *Peace* began to open, the *Faction* agreed, *One and All*, to Oppoſe it. The then *Lord May--r* of the *City* of *London* publickly declared, That whatever the Terms and Conditions were, ſince they were made by a *Tory Miniſtry*, their Party was Ruin'd, and therefore Right or Wrong muſt join to Cry down the *Peace*, and Condemn it. His Meaning no doubt was, that the *Peace* would put an End to that exorbitant Gain, by which Himſelf and his Friends had raiſed vaſt Eſtates upon the Publick; and that another Conſequence of the *Peace* would be, the Disbanding of the *Army*, by which the *Faction* was ſupported. Theſe Councels had been fully Concerted with the *Diſcarded Miniſters*; and accordingly they went to work upon their Deſign, with Lyes and Calumnies, Noiſe and Clamour, and all the Engins of open Violence and ſecret Artifice. Ten thouſand falſe Accounts were given of the *Peace*, long before it was divulg'd: The *Miniſtry* were Libell'd and Abus'd at home; Miſrepreſented and Vilify'd abroad: Our *Allies* were ſeverally tamper'd with, not to come in: The Government was teaz'd with *Petitions* and *Memorials:* The Troops in *Britiſh Pay* ſolicited to Deſert the Service; and according as any of their thwarting Meaſures were found likely to ſucceed, the *Stocks* fell, and *Publick Credit* was in danger. So little Regard was had to this common Concern, that when a *Fund* was found to pay off an immenſe growing Debt, by erecting a *Company*, not Interfering with any other before eſtabliſh'd; nor productive of any of thoſe Diſputes, which the *Old* and *New Eaſt-India Company*, the *Africans* and *Interlopers* were perpetually plagued with, they ſtuck not to decry the Deſign; and for a long time laid load upon it, with all the Oppoſition that was in their Power.

Tho' they made a deſperate Stand, and fought it out Inch by Inch, yet when all Endeavours to obſtruct the *Peace* were happily Conquer'd and got over, their next Attack upon *Credit* was in the Caſe of the *Bill of Commerce*; againſt which they bent all their Force, and every Step they took in it had an Influence upon the *Stocks*, to the Diſadvantage of the Proprietors. *Diſt--n*, a *Blackwell-Hall* Factor, and other Agents, are ſent down with *Petitions* ready drawn, to raiſe a Ferment in all the *Cloathing Counties*, inſinuating as if the whole Staple Manufacture of *England* were to be immediately deliver'd up to the *French*. In the mean time, the moſt notorious Lyes and Falſhoods are diſperſed up and down the Kingdom, in poiſonous Libels and Pamphlets. The very Perſon, who moved to make the Laws more effectual againſt the *Exportation* of *Wooll*, is charged with bringing in a *Bill*, to give leave for the *Exportation* of it to *France*; and in all this Management they had a double View, at once to ſtir the *Peace*, and make way for their Friends in the enſuing *Elections*; where the Signal was *Wooll* in their *Hats*, as particularly in *Wiltſhire*, *Buckingham-ſhire*, *Glouceſter-ſhire*, and *Kent*. All this while *Credit* ſinks, and is often put into ſtrong Throws and Convulſions: But the People had Groan'd too long under the heavy Apprehenſions of *War* and *Faction*, quarter'd upon each other; they ſoon taſted the Reduction of the *Taxes*, and ſaw clearly through the Amuſement of *Reducing the Exorbitant Power of France*; ſince from the Year 1706, when all the Armies of *France* were broken and confounded, and the *Peace* then offer'd rejected by the *Miniſtry* here, all the Deſign of continuing the War was only to Aggrandize the *Gen——l* and his Creatures. The *Elections* therefore generally turn'd againſt them, and moſt of their Leaders loſt Ground where-ever they ſhew'd themſelves. Hereupon the *Secret Committee* meets, and their next Game is to embroil *Ireland*, where they had ſeveral Friends in high Truſt, and in whom they repos'd much Confidence. This in ſome meaſure ſucceeding, they reſolve to exert themſelves in *England* at the ſame time; and, if poſſible, to blaſt the Adminiſtration of the *Tr———r*, who had twice recover'd the ſinking *Credit* of all the *Funds*. When a fair Opportunity offer'd, the D. of *M.* and Mr. *C——n* draw out great Sums from hence, as well as from *Holland*, to place them upon the *French Funds*, which were at 50 *per Cent.* Diſcount, as appears by Mr. *L——'s* Letters from *Holland*. Another *Secret Committee* meets at their uſual Place behind the *Exchange*, when the Members agree to ſell their Stocks, and lower the *Publick Credit* to ſuch a degree, that a thorough Diſcontent ſhould paſs thro' the Nation. Many oppos'd this; but were made eaſy by a Propoſal to get conſiderably by it at the ſame time. In order thereto, a *Book*, with an extraordinary Title is prepar'd, and brought to Light by the vaſt Number of the *Subſcriptions*. The *News-Writers*, both at home and abroad, are Inſtructed to fill their *Papers* with frightful *Paragraphs*. The *Pretender* is ſaid to be on our Coaſts: A *Liſt* of his Forces is formally drawn up, and ſent to *Al——'s* in the City: The *Qu—n* is reported to be Dead, or dangerouſly ill; the People are Scar'd and Terrify'd; and the *Stocks* fall, according as was Projected. But the Deſign being laid too deep, and the *Panick* ſpreading too far, as is uſual in Caſes of this Nature, the firſt Contrivers find the worſt Effects of it. The *Bank* has a Run made upon it; and when the People, who were diſpatch'd into the City to cry Fire, had offer'd all their *Stock* and that of their Friends to Sale, the Prime Managers had no other way left, but openly to chime in with the Humour, and ſell for Company, adviſing all their Friends to do the ſame; whoſe *Stock* themſelves bought up under-hand, whereby they were made whole again: As they, who ſet their Neighbours Houſes on Fire, are commonly the firſt to begin Plundering at the ſame time. *Self-Intereſt* at laſt prevail'd; when they ſaw all was at Stake, they began to cool, and enquire better into their Fears; which were found to be all Sham and Contrivance. The Lord *Tr———r* ſupplies the *Bank:* Others would not preſs them, tho' they ow'd them no Favour: The *Run* ceaſes; *Stocks* riſe; and thus, at the hazard of the *Publick Credit*, a few Incendiaries get vaſt Eſtates in three or four Days. But this anſwers not the firſt Deſign: The Fright is over too ſoon: The Mob have not time to riſe; nor the *Diſbanded Officers* an Opportunity to Head them, and make uſe of the Arms provided by ſome of their Leaders: The Original of which Project may be ſeen in the Conduct of *Wildman* and other *Agitators*, in *Whitlock* and *Ludlow's* Memoirs.

ADVERTISEMENT.

To Morrow will be publiſh'd,

*** The Publick Spirit of the *Whigs*, ſet forth in their generous Encouragement of the Author of the *Criſis:* With ſome Obſervations on the Seaſonableneſs, Candor, Erudition and Style of that Treatiſe. Price 1 s. but to the Subſcribers Half a Crown. Note, This Work will be Printed in Quarto, fit to be bound up with the Criſis. Printed for John Morphew, near Stationers Hall.

Juſt Publiſh'd,

† The Tragedy of Jane Shore, written in Imitation of Shakeſpear's Style. As it is now Acted at the Queen's Theatre. By N. Rowe, Eſq; Printed for Bernard Lintott between the Two Temple-Gates.

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